

Elam and Persia

Edited by

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Parsumaš, Anšan, and Cyrus

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§1. Introduction; §2. Parsuaš, Parsumaš, and Parsua; §3. Anšan; §4. Anšan and Parsu(m)aš; §5. Cyrus's Line.

1. Introduction

The evidence for Cyrus the Great's rise is varied and convoluted and, as a consequence, riddled with problems of use and interpretation. Under consideration here are some questions of historical geography involving the toponyms Parsu(m)aš, Anšan, and Elam in conjunction with the identification of Cyrus of Parsumaš and Cyrus I, grandfather of Cyrus the Great. The chronological frame of the focal evidence considered runs roughly two hundred and thirty years from Sargon II (reigned 721–705 B.C.) to Darius I (reigned 522–486 B.C.). The various strands of this evidence are too ambiguous to reconcile conclusively, so this essay is by necessity interpretive.

The progression of the Persians into Fārs, and their mixing with the Elamites, is something about which little is known, even if a general outline is possible.¹ Archaeological evidence is as yet too meager to solve many of the questions reconsidered here. The primary question remains: How do we explain the rapid rise of the Persian Empire from its origins in the kingdom of Anšan, based at a city (of the same name) in a plain for which there is no attested settlement from roughly 1000 B.C. to the beginning of the Achaemenid period?² The prevailing assumption is that this area of Fārs, if not the entire region, was inhabited by pastoralists. This assumption—at a superficial level—agrees with Herodotus and other classical writers' portrayal of the Persians as a tribal-based society.³ By most accounts, Persians are attested archaeologically from the mid-7th century onward, and their ethnogenesis via acculturation with the Elamites may be tracked in a number of sporadic, but compelling, ways.⁴

1. See, among others, Miroshedji 1985, 1990, 2003; Potts 1999, 2005; Sumner 1986, 1994, 1987, especially 314 (whereas the Malyan period 900–600 is marked: “Hiatus?”); Carter 1994; Henkelman 2003a; Storch 2003a; Curtis 2005.

The problems discussed in this paper have a long history in modern scholarship. Rather than attempt to be exhaustive, I instead offer representative references to particular problems, especially those that contain more extensive bibliography. I acknowledge and thank Dan Potts and Mark Garrison for sharing copies of their forthcoming works. I also thank the American Council of Learned Societies and the University of Wisconsin–Eau Claire for research support. Abbreviations follow *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CAD), unless otherwise noted.

2. Note Potts's (2005: 21) cautionary remark that much of the site and wider area remains to be explored. See also Sumner 1986: 7–12 and 1994: 101–105.

3. Hdt. I.125; see discussion at Briant 2002: 18–19.

4. Miroshedji 2003: 35 and Henkelman 2003a (both with references).



2. *Parsuaš, Parsumaš, and Parsua*

It is assumed herein that the toponym Parsu(m)aš used in relation to modern Fārs represented an ethnically Persian element dwelling within, an element to which use of that toponym referred. The variant spellings Parsuaš, Parsumaš, or Parsua themselves do not differentiate whether Parsu(m)aš of the Neo-Assyrian Zagros or Parsu(m)aš of Fārs is in question—only context differentiates the two. Parsua, as a full-fledged Assyrian province in the Zagros, is of course more prominent in the source material. In textual sources, the toponym Parsu(m)aš—for a presumably (though not necessarily exclusively) Persian entity in Fārs⁵—has been traced back into Sennacherib’s reign, and there is strong reason to extend that usage into Sargon’s reign as well. A Neo-Assyrian letter, author’s name broken but restored as Nabû-duru-ušur, refers to a messenger of the Elamite king having been sent to Parsumaš to determine if someone (the name is broken but ends in *yā*) will mobilize troops. The historical context of this letter is the Assyrian-Elamite struggle over Ellipi in and after 708 B.C. It is unlikely, if not impossible, that the king of Elam (Šutruk-Nahhunte II) was able to recruit troops from the Assyrian province of Parsua, so this reference should be taken to mean Parsumaš in Fārs.⁶ That troops from both Parsuaš and Anšan stood with Huban-menanu at the Battle of Halule in 691 B.C. offers suitable context for what most assume anyway: the Elamites were already in close contact with Persians in Fārs, even if there exist only echoes of this contact in Assyrian sources.

3. *Anšan*

Consideration of the textual sources for Anšan complicates the issue. Occurrences in Neo-Assyrian texts are rare: the much-discussed listing in Sennacherib’s inventory of those regions that supplied troops to Huban-menanu before Halule and a broken reference to Anšanites in the so-called “Epic of Sargon.”⁷ This intriguing text is too fragmentary to discern much else, but if its attribution to Sargon is correct (so followed here), its content appears to refer to Sargon’s victory over a broad-ranging coalition that included men from Anšan. Emphasis on Elam, the Elamite bow, and Ellipi (rev. 8’–13’) also points to the Assyrian-Elamite struggle in Ellipi in the late 8th century B.C. If Huban-menanu was able to assemble troops (through whatever means) from Anšan and Parsuaš, it would be no surprise that Šutruk-Nahhunte was able to do so as well, at least as indirectly implied by this text and the Neo-Assyrian letter discussed above.⁸ The broken and opaque passage in the “Epic of Sargon” may lend some indirect sup-

5. The variant *Parsua*, to my knowledge, the Assyrians did not use to indicate Fārs. Note Fuchs 2004. See for text references Parpola 1970: 274–75 and Zadok 1985: 247–48. It should be remembered that Parsu(m)aš in Fārs included other ethnic groups, especially Elamites. In ABL 1311+ (from the time of Ashurbanipal), line 23, *Parsumaš* occurs both to identify a place and people; the determinatives are restored in both cases, but the second instance is spelled with the *-ú-a* gentilic; De Vaan 1995: 311. Instead of “Persians,” one could translate “Parsumašians” in this and similar cases, but to do so would be excessively pedantic. For discussion, cf. Waters 1999; Rollinger 1999; Zadok 2001. For Urartian B/Parsua, see Lanfranchi 2003: 101–2 n. 97.

6. Fuchs and Parpola 2001: no. 129, xxxiii and liii n. 102; note also discussion and references xxiv–xxxi. For Nabû-duru-ušur, an official in the Assyrian administration of Babylonia, see Baker 2001: 824.

7. For the Sennacherib listing regarding the Battle of Halule, see Luckenbill 1924: 43, lines 43–44, 88, line 44, and 91, rev. 9; Grayson 1963: 94–95, line 110; Frahm 1997: 207–8, line 15 (K 2622). I thank Bob Whiting for searching the SAA database for occurrences of “Anzan” on my behalf. The “Epic of Sargon” (81–2–4,320) rev. 14’ reads: [preceding broken] *an-za-nu-ú-a*; see Livingstone 1989: no. 18.

8. Cf. Fuchs and Parpola 2001: xxxiii.



port to Šutruk-Nahhunte's claim to the traditional Middle Elamite title "king of Anšan and Susa."⁹ The toponym Anšan occurs sporadically in Neo-Elamite royal inscriptions and economic documents and with some frequency again in the Fortification texts.¹⁰ In Babylonian texts of Nabonidus and Cyrus, it occurs only in reference to Cyrus (or his predecessors) as "king of Anšan." Despite the dearth of attested settlement at the site, use of the toponym persisted through the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.

Anšan also appears once in the Bisitun Inscription (§40) in regard to the revolt of a Persian army that had been previously in Anšan. This incidental reference is the only time that Anšan appears in Darius' inscriptions, since it has dropped out of the royal titulary. This passage is difficult to interpret.¹¹ If this Persian army was indeed from Anšan, apparently stationed in a palace there, one might assume it to have been a palace-guard (or the like) of Cyrus and Cambyses from the old capital. This is strictly hypothetical; it cannot be asserted without qualification that that was the case, especially as a comparison of all four versions gives a conflicting sense to the passage. But if this army was indeed stationed in, or initially from, Anšan, this notice adds further significance to Vahyazdata's revolt: not only did he claim himself to be Bardiya, but an army stationed in the old capital went over to him.

4. *Anšan and Parsu(m)aš*

The historical implications of the identification, or not, of the regions of Anšan and Parsu(m)aš are far-reaching. It is unlikely that consensus will be achieved anytime soon, barring the introduction of compelling new evidence. The reference in Sennacherib's inventory regarding the Battle of Halule differentiates the regions of Anšan and Parsuaš. The determinative KUR is used in all extant versions before both toponyms (see above, n. 7). However, that usage in itself is not always an unequivocal guide to whether a region or a city is at issue, especially when the same name designated each (for example, Anšan the region and Anšan the city).

When did Anšan and Parsumaš become conflated? There is no clear answer to this question—thus, the confusion; but whatever answer one posits will considerably affect analysis of the rise of the early Persian Empire. That the extant geographic and ethnic labels for this area, and for the people who dwelt within it, are a variegation of Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Neo-Elamite, and Persian—and occur in sources spanning roughly two hundred years—does not facilitate clarity. On the basis of extant evidence, it is nigh impossible after Sennacherib's reign to substantiate use of Anšan or Parsu(m)aš in royal inscriptions and correspondence as reflective of a distinct demarcation of separate polities (that is, contemporary kingdoms of Anšan and Parsu(m)aš during the 7th and 6th centuries).

The Nabonidus Chronicle refers to Cyrus the Great both as "king of Anšan" (ii 1) and "king of Parsu" (ii 15), a conflation of the two toponyms in titulary.¹² In the Sippar Cylinder

9. EKI no. 73.

10. See Vallat 1993: 14–16 for references. In the Susa Acropole texts (MDP 9), Persians (^{BE}*pār-sīp*) are also identified in a number of tablets; for references, see Vallat 1993: 210; note also Henkelman's (2003b: 211) remarks.

11. Compare Bihar 1998: 187–93 and Vogelsang 1998. The Old Persian version labels "Anšan" *Yadā*; see Schmitt 1991: 64, commentary on line 26.

12. Glassner 2004: 234–37. The extant copy of the chronicle dates from the Seleucid period; the date of the original is unknown. Compare Vallat 1997: 423–34 (and in this volume); Miroslawski 1985: 287–303; Young 2003: 243–48; and Potts 2005.



of Nabonidus, Cyrus is described as “king of Anšan,” with Anšan preceded by the determinative KUR, indicating a country or region. In Cyrus’s own inscriptions, both the determinatives KUR and URU (for a city) occur before Anšan in his titulary.¹³ Neither Nabonidus nor Cyrus makes reference to Parsu/–maš in their own inscriptions.¹⁴ The determinative before Anšan in DB §40, Akkadian version, is broken. Von Voightlander restores KUR, but there is no confirmation for that restoration. The extant Aramaic version (line 37) and the Akkadian fragment from Babylon (BE 3627 ii 11) do not enlighten on this issue.¹⁵ Anšan occurs a number of times in the Persepolis Fortification texts as an ethnic marker (as in the Cyrus I sealing, PFS 93*, discussed below), less often to refer to the place. The same applies to the Susa Acropole texts, but in far fewer exemplars.¹⁶ It is not clear in these instances whether a city or a region is meant. The Elamite determinative AŠ (or its variants BE and GAM) is used for both regions and cities.¹⁷

Only Cyrus the Great’s usage is of immediate consequence to indicate what he, as king, labeled his own kingdom. At least in his royal titulary, he preferred Anšan. This usage was followed by Nabonidus and is consistent with Cyrus I in PFS 93*. In Neo-Assyrian, Anšan does not occur in texts after Sennacherib’s reign; only Parsu(m)aš occurs.¹⁸ We cannot discern whether this indicates that Anšan was yet distinct from Parsumaš but of no consequence to the Assyrians during Ashurbanipal’s reign (an extension of its being simply unattested) or that the toponyms Anšan and Parsumaš had become synonymous for the same region and, thus, the same kingdom. The latter is the position followed here, with full acknowledgment that this is by no means a settled issue.

Elam as geographic designation should also be considered in this context. There is continued disagreement about what specific region(s) the toponym Elam delineated throughout its history. For example, Miroschedji argues that while Anšan is Fārs in the wider sense, in the strict sense it “should not be confused with nor used as an interchangeable part of Elam.”¹⁹ Such an assessment has broad implications as to what area(s) “Elam” referred, especially during the late period of concern here. It appears to have meant different things to different people: to the Assyrians and Babylonians, its range is indefinable but seems to have incorporated any Elamite territories that were ruled by an Elamite king, with the focus on Susiana and the immediately adjacent highlands. For the Elamites in the Neo-Elamite period there is even less to

13. For these inscriptions, see Schaudig 2001: 417 (Sippar Cylinder of Nabonidus), 552–53 (Cyrus Cylinder, lines 12 and 21, wherein URU is used), and 549 (Ur brick inscription, lines 1 and 3, wherein KUR is used).

14. I do not follow the line of argumentation that attributes the inscriptions at Pasaragadae (CMa–CMc) to Cyrus. For the inscriptions, see Schaudig 2001: 557–61. For discussion, see, among others, Stronach 1997a: 351–63 and Vallat in this volume.

15. Voightlander 1978: 32, for DB §40 (Akkadian version line 72) and 64, for BM 3627. For the Aramaic version, see Greenfield and Porten 1982: 36–37.

16. See Vallat 1993: 14–15 and Hallock 1969: 668, for references to Anšan. Anšan in the Neo-Elamite royal inscriptions occurs only once outside the titulary, in an uncertain context in EKI 85:11 (Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak).

17. See, for discussion, Steve 1988.

18. References in omen texts from Esarhaddon’s reign refer to Parsumaš, but these are clearly directed toward the north, central Zagros region and not Fārs. See Starr 1990: nos. 37, 39, and 40, and lxi–lxii. “Parsu-maš” is confidently restored in the first two.

19. Miroschedji 2003: 18 (contra Vallat 1980 and 1993: cviii–cx), with the additional remark on p. 36: “Anšan was an essential component of Greater Elam for about six centuries only, between circa 2400 and 1750 B.C. Its inclusion into the Elamite confederacy was afterwards intermittent and came to a final end in the mid-7th century B.C. at the latest.”



go on. Enigmatic references to Elam (Elamite *Hatamti*) in inscriptions of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak and Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, for example, do not lend themselves toward a geographic definition of Elam.²⁰ When Neo-Elamite kings used a title in their inscriptions, they typically followed the traditional “king of Anšan and Susa” or the variant “I expanded the realm of Anšan and Susa” (e.g., Hallutaš-Inšušinak).²¹ Whether a king’s claim to Anšan and Susa may be substantiated (e.g., Šutruk-Nahhunte II) or not (e.g., Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak) by documentary evidence is open to question, especially after the early 7th century B.C. In the Neo-Elamite period, the region of Anšan is clearly Fārs, or part thereof, but is it Elam? It does not seem to have been so, and few scholars—confining Elam to Susiana and perhaps the immediately adjacent highlands—would take it as such.

In Achaemenid times, Elam as a satrapy (OP *Ūja*) appears to be greater Susiana, i.e., Khuzistan; but its bounds are also uncertain.²² This usage may have coincided conceptually with Assyrian usage of “king of Elam,” but this is impossible to verify. Occasional references such as to “the other Elam” (biblical) or “upper Elam” (Neo-Assyrian) indicate that the ancients differentiated certain areas, at least in some contexts, perhaps demarcated by topography.²³ In the so-called Nineveh Letters, written in Elamite, the opaque reference to Zamin of Elam (Nin 5:2–3) gives the sense of an over-arching, presumably geographic area termed “Elam,” in which the writer Bahuri grounded this place called “Zamin.”²⁴ The descriptive marker “of Elam” leads one to wonder of what other region Zamin could have been a part that Bahuri found it necessary to specify it so. The same applies to Hanni’s notice that the place he ruled, Ayapir, was in Elam (EKI 76:1).

5. Cyrus’s Line

Cyrus’s emphasis is on Anšan: not Persia, and not Elam. Several sources relay Cyrus’s descent, but the Cyrus Cylinder takes precedence, wherein all Cyrus’s predecessors are labeled “king of Anšan” (line 21): Cyrus was “son of Cambyses the great king, king of Anšan, grandson of Cyrus the great king, king of Anšan, great-grandson of Teispes the great king, king of Anšan.” Cyrus also labeled himself and his father, Cambyses I, “king of Anšan” in a brick inscription from Ur.²⁵ While this lineage is straightforward, even if its historical implications are not, the question of the linguistic heritage of Cyrus’s name persists and, further, whether it was Cyrus’s birth-name or a throne-name. That the name *Kuraš/-uš* should be considered of Elamite origin has been convincingly argued.²⁶ The debate will continue, but an Elamite etymology

20. Malbran-Labat 1995: no. 62: 2 (EKI 80) for Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, and EKI 86: 2 for Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak.

21. Malbran-Labat 1995: 58 and EKI 77. Note also the enigmatic *me-en.ku-li-ik-ki* of EKI 72:3 (Malbran-Labat 1995: 57:3). This is a hapax with uncertain reading; see Hinz and Koch 1987: 909.

22. See Koch 1993: 8–12; Vallat 1993: cxliii–cxlv; Jacobs 1994: 201–204.

23. For example, the Dēz/Hudūd river served as a marker for Ashurbanipal’s first and second campaigns against Huban-haltaš III; see Waters 2000: 75–76. Ezra 2:31 mentions captives from “the other Elam” (cf. 2:7–8) and ABL 781: rev. 2–4, notes the army of “upper Elam” (NIM.MA *elēniti*) at Bit-Imbi. The Ezra references to Elam are taken by some as a personal name.

24. See Vallat 1998: 95–106; cf. Henkelman 2003a: 257 n. 10. The reference in Nin 13:4 to the king of Assyria (EŠŠANA ^{HAL} *āš-šu-[ra-na]*; collated) necessitates that these letters be dated before 609 B.C. The restoration of *-ra-* is certain, unless one wishes to posit an otherwise-unattested toponym here. See Vallat 1993: 22–23 for other references to Elamite “Aššura.”

25. See n. 13 above.

26. Stronach 1997b: 38; Henkelman 2003b: 194–96; Potts 2005: 21–22; see also Tavernier in this volume.



seems more compelling than, for example, an Iranian one.²⁷ That “Cyrus” may have been a throne-name is also a distinct—though currently unverifiable—possibility. This phenomenon was common in the ancient Near East, is demonstrable for many of Cyrus’s successors, and is augmented by the (admittedly-late) testimony of Strabo:²⁸

There is also a river Cyrus, flowing through so-called “hollow” Persis near Pasargadae, from which the king took his name, taking the name Cyrus in place of Agradates.

The cylinder-sealing PFS 93* has been identified with Cyrus the Great’s grandfather, to whom most refer as Cyrus I.²⁹ The seal occurs on a number of texts from the Fortification archive and has been cited in a variety of publications.³⁰ The seal is invariably found on J-texts, used as an office seal during Darius I’s reign.³¹ That such an heirloom persisted in use under Darius is striking in light of the circumstances surrounding Darius’ rise at the expense of Cyrus’s sons. If the seal was an heirloom in the traditional sense, it presumably was held by someone descended directly from Cyrus. This is, of course, unless Darius co-opted it (and bequeathed it to another, for example, as a prestige item) for his own purposes as he co-opted so much else of Cyrus’s.³²

The inscription on the seal seems straightforward in its translation—“Cyrus the Anšanite, son of Teispes”—but the problematic sign at the end of the third line defies confident interpretation. The sign read in most publications as “x” is clearly the *-tak-* sign, though it is read frequently as *-ir-*.³³ Given the inscription as a whole, there seems no preferable way to interpret it. Collation confirms the unmistakable *-tak-* sign, however, thus reading ^{AS}*an-za-an-tak-ra*. Unless one insists on an emendation to the text as ^{AS}*an-za-an-ir¹-ra*, it must be allowed that the exact understanding of this seal inscription eludes us. This is not an uncommon problem in Neo-Elamite epigraphy.

The spitted figure in PFS 93* is holding a quiver and a broken bow. The broken bow evokes several parallel exemplars vis-à-vis the importance of bows in the Neo-Elamite and

27. As argued, e.g., by Schmitt 1993: 515–16, and in Schmitt 2000: 639 (with qualification). Note the remarks of Zadok 1991: 237, and Kellens 2002: 422.

28. Strabo XV.3.6: ἔστι δὲ καὶ Κύρος ποταμός, διὰ τῆς κοίτης καλουμένης Περσίδος ῥέων περὶ Πασαργάδας, ὃ μετέλαβε τὸ ὄνομα βασιλεὺς ἀντὶ Ἀγραδάτου μετονομασθεὶς Κύρος. The correspondence between Strabo’s “Agradates” and Ctesias’ “Atrades” (who, according to Ctesias, was Cyrus’s father) is close enough to have been conflated in the Greek historiographical tradition. Note the remarks of Henkelman 2003b: 196 n. 48. On Achaemenid throne names, see Schmitt 1982: 83–95.

29. For a contrary view, see Bollweg 1988: 56 and Jacobs 1996: 83–84 n. 1.

30. See in particular Garrison and Root 1996: 6–7, figs. 2a–2c; Garrison, this volume. I thank Mark Garrison for the tablet references and for discussing numerous aspects of the sealing’s iconography, as well as Matt Stolper for the opportunity to collate the sealing inscription.

31. The name of the individual(s) who used the seal are not indicated in any text, as is often the case for office seals in the Fortification archive. See Hallock 1969: 24–25, for J-texts. Note also the comments of Garrison, this volume.

32. Garrison 1991: 4–7 notes parallels between PFS 93* and Assyrian reliefs as well as offers conjunctive analysis of PFS 51, a seal of Irdabama, which “might well be a companion piece to PFS 93.” Note especially Garrison, this volume, for a reevaluation resulting in a late Assyrian date for PFS 93*; see also in this volume the comments of Vallat, Quintana, and Álvarez-Mon.

33. This is another issue with wide circulation in the scholarly literature. Steve 1992: 89 and 152 and Vallat 1996 read *ir*. Note Jones apud Garrison, 1991: 23–24 n. 22 and Henkelman 2003b: 193 n. 39. Steve 1992: 66 also lists for this sign the alternate values *dak*, *tà* (*da₆*), and *šum*.



Achaemenid traditions.³⁴ A number of examples may be put forward that emphasize the significance of the bow in an Elamite context and the Persian adaptation of this motif. The following is a sampling, with emphasis on references in textual sources: the reference in the “Epic of Sargon” noted above; various instances in the Tell Tuba relief, where Elamites have lifted their bows in a gesture of surrender;³⁵ the scene in the Tell Tuba relief sequence of Ituni cutting his bow in submission, of which there is a representation both in the southwest palace and also in the north palace of Nineveh;³⁶ a fragmentary reference in one of Ashurbanipal’s texts about the defeat of Te’umman, wherein Ishtar is implored to break his bow;³⁷ a fragmentary reference to the bows of Tammariu (II) that Ashurbanipal presumably (restored by context) broke;³⁸ the breaking of the bow of Dunanu (of Gambulu, allied with Elam) after the victory over Te’umman;³⁹ a biblical prophecy concerning the breaking of the bow of Elam and dispersion of its power;⁴⁰ and the prominence of bows delivered as tribute by Elamites to the Achaemenid kings.⁴¹ The Neo-Assyrian references to this motif occur predominantly in Elamite contexts (especially the aftermath of the Tell Tuba campaign), though the motif is by no means unique to them. It also occurs in formulaic language in the so-called loyalty oaths of Esarhaddon and in Esarhaddon’s royal inscriptions.⁴² In another exemplar from Ashurbanipal’s reign, the hands of the statue of Hallušu, those hands “that grasped the bow,” were cut-off.⁴³

If Cyrus the Anšante borrowed the broken-bow motif, directly or indirectly, from its use in Neo-Assyrian contexts pertaining to Elam, it stands to reason that the holder of the broken bow in PFS 93* was an Elamite. But this is hardly certain and certainly cannot stand unsubstantiated. The motif is not exclusive to Elamite contexts, and there is no one-to-one correspondence between PFS 93* and the Tell Tuba relief. The character on PFS 93* itself gives no clue to his ethnicity, and it cannot be discerned from stylistic context. It does seem clear, however, that the bow motif had significance in an Elamite, and by this time also Persian (perhaps more accurately, mixed) milieu. The broken bow motif was obviously not new, as it hearkens back to Assyrian exemplars—whatever its origin or the means of cultural transmission—and the central place of the bow persisted into Achaemenid times. Cyrus the Anšante was making a statement. It is a reasonable assumption that that statement resonated with his Elamite and Persian contemporaries, and not just at a superficial level.

Dating Cyrus the Anšante on historical grounds has proven problematic, as this is a function of whether this Cyrus should be identified with the Cyrus, king of Parsumaš, mentioned in Ashurbanipal’s annals or his reign truncated into a more comfortable chronology placing him

34. I thank Mark Garrison for sharing his thoughts on this motif with me. See his and M. Root’s contributions to this volume for discussion in its art historical contexts. Note also Root 1979: 165.

35. E.g., Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998: pls. 288–89 (slab 1). Bows from defeated Elamites are scattered throughout the landscape. See also Garrison, this volume.

36. See Gerardi 1988: 22; Borger 1996: 302, A1 ii 8–10 (K 2674+); and Russell 1999: 173–76.

37. Borger 1996: 103, lines 44–54 (K 2652) = Streck 1916: 192–95, rv. 15–25.

38. Borger 1996: 313, text labeled “E,” lines 12–17 (Rm 40) = Bauer 1933: 92, where a different restoration is supplied: “. . . (weihte ich) die[se] Bogen . . .”

39. Borger 1996: 305, text labeled “A2,” iv 3–4 (80–7–19, 102) = Bauer 1933: 101–102.

40. Jeremiah 49:35–6; May and Metzger 1973: 981.

41. See the chart in Briant 2002: 175, and references at 909. See also Root, this volume.

42. For the loyalty oaths, see Parpola and Watanabe 1988: 22, line 20’ (Esarhaddon Accession Treaty, restored by context) and 48, lines 453, 531, and 573 (Esarhaddon Succession Treaty). For Esarhaddon’s inscriptions, see Borger 1956: 44, i 75 (Nin. A–F, Episode 2) and 109, iv 18 (treaty with Baal of Tyre).

43. Borger 1996: 54, line 18’ (K 3062+ iii 12).



near the end of the 7th century B.C.⁴⁴ While there is no definitive evidence linking these two Cyruses, by the same token, there is no compelling reason to disassociate them, despite difficulties with the identification.

One problem with the identification is that Cyrus the Anšanite of PFS 93* did not label himself “king,” a title that Cyrus the Great attributed to all his forebears through Teispes. The label “the Anšanite” in and of itself does not warrant assumptions of political dominion. How does one reconcile this title with the royal title used by Cyrus for, we must assume, the same individual? An easy, but not necessarily satisfactory, answer is that this seal dates to a time before Cyrus became king and, thus, according to Cyrus’s genealogy, during the reign of Teispes. But why not then identify himself as the crown prince, i.e., the son of king Teispes, as does Huban-Kitin, son of king Šutur-nahhunte, on his seal?⁴⁵ The possibility should not be discounted that Cyrus the Great also (like many others) exaggerated his royal lineage.

There is also the often-cited difficulty of reconciling the fact that Ashurbanipal’s Cyrus is called “king of Parsumaš”—though note that this is an Assyrian label—while Cyrus the Great calls his grandfather “king of Anšan.” However, we should not place too much stock on this detail; consider that the title “king of Elam” used in Neo-Assyrian sources has no Neo-Elamite counterpart. It should be considered a generic label for the typically more expansive Neo-Elamite titulary such as that, for example, used by Šutruk-Nahhunte II: “I am the king of Anšan and Susa, expander of the realm, *katru* of Elam . . .”⁴⁶ Different labels from different sources cannot be reduced to a single standard of comparison.

Sometime after Ashurbanipal’s sack of Susa in ca. 646 B.C., Cyrus, king of Parsumaš and Pislumê, king of ʕudimiri, offered Ashurbanipal obeisance, according to the royal inscriptions because of fear of Assyrian might. Cyrus and Pislumê’s stereotyped response is recorded in two exemplars: Prism H2 and the Ishtar Temple inscription.⁴⁷ Pislumê is a hapax;⁴⁸ ʕudimiri occurs, however, one other time (to my knowledge), in ABL 521 rev. 21–24, in the context of Nabû-bêl-šumâti’s flight there from Assyrian forces, with no indication of pursuit.⁴⁹ Perhaps, at the time of this letter, ʕudimiri was beyond Assyrian reach or influence. The annals passage emphasizes that ʕudimiri had had no contact with Assyria before Ashurbanipal’s reign (lines 15’–18’). This implies that it was not only “on the far side of Elam” (line 15’) but also that it was further removed from Assyria (and from Elam) than Parsumaš, with which the Assyrians had had contact.

In the prism inscription, Cyrus’s son, Arukku (also a hapax), was also sent to the Assyrian court.⁵⁰ The Ishtar temple inscription does not mention Arukku, only that both Cyrus and Pislumê sent their nobles (^LMAḪ.MEŠ) and tribute (*tāmartu*). For Arukku, there is nothing else beyond his name and that he is described as Cyrus’s oldest (*rabû*) son. That he is only men-

44. For example, Mirošchedji 1985: 283–84; Stronach 1997a: 359; Briant 2002: 17–18, 878; Rollinger 1999: 136–37; Vallat, this volume.

45. For the seal, see Amiet 1973: 18 and 29, no. 34 (and pl. VI) and Mirošchedji 1982: 61. For discussion see Waters 2000: 113–15. On Cyrus and his lineage, note Stronach 2003b: 255.

46. See Waters 2000: 16 and 111–12. For *katr(i)*, see Grillot-Susini 1987: 15 and Khačikjan 1998: 12. For occurrences of Anšan in 3rd- and 2nd-millennium B.C. Elamite titulary, see references in Potts 2005: 15.

47. Weidner 1931–32: 3–5 and Borger 1996: 191–92 (for Prism H2 ii’ 7’–25’); Thompson 1933: 86 and Borger 1996: 280–81 (for the Ishtar Temple inscription, lines 115–118). Both Parsumaš and ʕudimiri are described as on “the far side of Elam.” Note also Mirošchedji 1985: 272–73 and Rollinger 1999: 118–20.

48. Zadok (1984: 27, 35) includes this name in his *Elamite Onomasticon*.

49. De Vaan 1995: 271–72 and Waters 2000: 68–69.

50. Schmitt etymologizes Arukku as an Iranian name, but this is disputed (in Schmitt 1998: 134–35).



tioned in one of the two extant records of this event reminds us, as does the title “king of Parsumash,” to consider the Assyrian source and the identifiable, if still not fully characterized, process of redaction in writing of the annals.⁵¹ to signal a shift in the political wind, to consolidate campaigns, or to incorporate literary motifs. To ameliorate the chronological discomfort alluded to above, it is preferable to assume that Arukku was quite young, though it is simply not known whether this was the case.⁵² That Arukku disappears from the historical record after this reference is not in itself too troubling, but it does engender more questions about the relationship between Assyria and Parsumaš at this time. We assume that Cyrus’s purported obeisance was not the end of the matter. The same may be noted for the issues discussed herein.

51. See Gerardi 1987.

52. Note Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002: no. 1, lines 3–8 (= ABL 918), as parallel for children in foreign royal court, in this case Esarhaddon’s in Elam and Urtak’s in Assyria.

Abbreviations

ABL	Texts published in Harper 1892–1914
EKI	Texts published in König 1965
Nin.	twenty-four tablets published in Weissbach 1902 (Nin. 1–25; drawings) and Hinz 1986 (Nin. 1, 5, 10, 13, and 14; transliteration and translation); Nin. 8 and 9 are fragments of the same tablet (Walker 1980: 79, “III. Late Elamite”)

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